

Message Text

PAGE 01 VIENNA 09523 171917Z

66

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-20 USIA-15 IO-14 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04

AEC-11 OMB-01 DRC-01 /164 W
----- 023084

R 171747Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 628

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 28

AMEMBASSY SOFIA POUCH

AMEMBASSY LISBON POUCH

AMEMBASSY WARSAW POUCH

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE POUCH

S E C R E T VIENNA 9523

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD ENDING 16 NOVEMBER 1973

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN THE WEEK OF NOVEMBER 11, ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES AT THE VIENNA TALKS CONTINUED THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR CONCEPTUAL POSITION AND GENERAL PROPOSALS IN PLENARY SESSIONS. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES CONCENTRATED ON PRODDING THE WEST TO ADDRESS THE EASTERN PROPOSAL OF NOV 8 OR MAKE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS OF THEIR OWN. THE EASTERN EFFORT WAS ACCOMPANIED BY AN INTENTIONAL LEAK TO THE PRESS ON NOV 15 OF MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL. THE AD HOC GROUP CONSIDERED THAT THE LEAK WAS ADDRESSED MAINLY TO WESTERN DOMESTIC OPINION AND CONCLUDED THAT IT INTENSIFIED NEED TO TABLE ON ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL SOON CONTAINING DETAILS OF ALLIED PROPOSALS FOR FORCE REDUCTIONS. INITIAL PRESS COVERAGE
SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 09523 171917Z

OF THE LEAK ON NOV 16 WAS NOT EXTENSIVE, SO THAT THE GROUP DECIDED TO WAIT UNTIL 19 NOVEMBER TO DECIDE WHETHER TO RESPOND WITH A BACKGROUND BRIEFING CRITIQUING THE EASTERN POSITION. ON 16 NOVEMBER THE GROUP AGREED ON AN OUTLINE OF A FRAMEWORK

PROPOSAL TO SEND TO NAC FOR APPROVAL. IN INFORMAL CONTACTS AS WELL AS IN PLENARY SPEECHES, DURING THE WEEK, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES BEGAN TO CRITIQUE THE WESTERN CONCEPTS OF DISPARITIES, THE WESTERN OBJECTIVE OF A COMMON CEILING ON NATO AND WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA, AND THE FIRST PHASE FOCUS OF THE WESTERN APPROACH ON SOVIET AND US FORCES. END SUMMARY.

2. WESTERN PLENARY PRESENTATIONS. IN PLENARY SESSIONS ON 13 AND 15 NOVEMBER, THE WESTERN SIDE CONTINUED THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALLIED CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES TO THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, CHARACTERIZING THESE APPROACHES AS "GENERAL PROPOSALS" IN ORDER TO COUNTER PRESENCE OF AN EASTERN PROPOSAL ON THE TABLE. IN THE PLENARY OF 13 NOVEMBER, THE FRG REP (BEHREND) FURTHER ELABORATED ALLIED PROPOSALS THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES AND THAT THEIR OVERALL OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE A COMMON CEILING ON WARSAW PACT AND NATO FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA. THE US REP FOLLOWED IN THE SAME SESSION WITH A PRESENTATION ON ALLIED VIEWS THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE IN TWO SEPARATE PHASES AND FOCUS ON US REDUCTION AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES IN THE FIRST PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS. ON 15 NOVEMBER, THE CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) FURTHER DEVELOPED THE ALLIED CASE FOR ASSOCIATED MEASURES TO ACCOMPANY REDUCTIONS AND THE BELGIAN DEP REP (WILLOT) DISCUSSED THE NEED FOR ARRANGEMENTS TO VERIFY AGREEMENTS AND TO PROVIDE ASSURANCE THAT AGREEMENTS WILL NOT BE CIRCUMVENTED.

3. EASTERN PLENARY STATEMENTS. ON 13 NOVEMBER, THE POLISH REP (STRULAK) ZEROED IN ON THE WESTERN DISPARITIES ARGUMENTS, CLAIMING THAT THE WEST WAS DELIBERATELY AND IN ITS OWN INTEREST SELECTIVELY DEALING WITH THE MILITARY SITUATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE, AND THAT IF ALL ASPECTS OF THAT MILITARY SITUATION ARE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT, THERE ALREADY EXISTS A SATISFACTORY RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES. STRULAK WENT ON TO ARGUE THAT THE EASTERN PROPOSAL DOES JUST THAT, PROVIDING FOR REDUCTIONS OF COMPONENTS OF ALL FORCES IN THE REDUCTION ZONE. AS A COUNTERWEIGHT TO LAST WEEK'S PRESENTATION BY THE GREEK REP (DOUNTAS) ON UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR THE FLANK STATES, THE BULGARIAN REP (DICHEV)

SECRET

PAGE 03 VIENNA 09523 171917Z

ON 13 NOVEMBER SPOKE BRIEFLY ON HOW THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WAS THE BEST WAY TO PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF ALL PARTIES. ON 15 NOVEMBER, THE EASTERN SIDE LEVELED ITS STRONGEST CRITICISM AT THE WESTERN SIDE TO DATE IN A SPEECH BY THE CZECH REP (KLEIN). KLEIN ACCOMPANIED FURTHER ELABORATION OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WITH CHARGES THAT THE WESTERN SIDE WAS AVOIDING A GENUINE DIALOGUE ON THE ISSUES BY IGNORING THE EASTERN PROPOSAL. HE SAID THAT THE WEST WAS UNJUSTLY ACCUSING THE EAST OF MAINTAINING AN OFFENSIVE MILITARY POSTURE. HE ASSERTED THAT THE WEST WAS TRYING TO INTRODUCE "NEW ELEMENTS" SUCH AS STABILIZATION MEASURES INTO THE TALKS WHICH "DO NOT CORRESPOND TO THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER OF THE (FINAL) COMMUNIQUE (OF THE PREPARATORY TALKS)."

THE ROMANIAN REP (ANINIU) ALSO SPOKE, TESTING THE WATER AGAIN FOR THE ROMANIAN SUGGESTION THAT THE CONFERENCE FORMALLY ANNOUNCE THAT OTHER INTERESTED COUNTRIES WILL BE KEPT INFORMED OF THE PROGRESS OF THE TALKS. ANINIU ALSO REITERATED THE ROMANIAN POSITION THAT ALL INTERESTED STATES SHOULD BE ABLE TO PRESENT THEIR VIEWS DIRECTLY TO THE CONFERENCE.

4. EASTERN PRESS LEAK. THE MORE OR LESS ANTICIPATED LEAK OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL OF NOV 8 CAME ON 15 NOVEMBER WHEN THE SOVIETS REVEALED THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE PROPOSAL THROUGH A TASS CORRESPONDENT. THE AD HOC GROUP DECIDED THAT IT WOULD BE BEST TO BASE THE WESTERN REACTION TO THE LEAK ON THE EXTENT OF THE PRESS COVERAGE THE LEAK RECEIVED, AND TO AVOID ACTION WHICH MIGHT DRAMATIZE IT. THE PRESS OF 16 NOVEMBER HAD ONLY LIGHT COVERAGE, AND SO THE GROUP DECIDED TO WAIT UNTIL 19 NOVEMBER TO DECIDE WHETHER TO HOLD A PRESS BACKGROUNDER TO RESPOND TO THE SOVIET POSITION. THE GROUP PREPARED TALKING NOTES FOR USE BY THE DUTCH REP (QUARLES) IF SUCH A BRIEFING SHOULD BE NECESSARY. ON 16 NOVEMBER, THE GROUP APPROVED A DRAFT OUTLINE PROPOSAL TO BE SENT TO THE NAC FOR APPROVAL, HOPEFULLY IN TIME FOR PRESENTATION ON NOV 22 AND IN ANY EVENT, NO LATER THAN THE WEEK OF 26 NOVEMBER.

5. DEVELOPMENT OF EASTERN LINE. DURING THE WEEK, THE EASTERN REPS PLAYED ON A NUMBER OF THEMES IN CONTACTS WITH WESTERN REPS. THEIR TACTICAL POSTURE WAS THAT THE WEST WAS PREVENTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF A REAL DIALOGUE BY NEITHER TABLING A PROPOSAL OF ITS OWN NOR
SECRET

PAGE 04 VIENNA 09523 171917Z

ADDRESSING DIRECTLY THE EASTERN PROPOSAL. BEYOND THAT, THE EASTERN REPS STRESSED THE UNDESIRABILITY OF THE COMMON CEILING OBJECTIVE AND ARGUED THAT WESTERN ADVANTAGES IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND AIR POWER HAD TO BE ADDRESSED. THEY DISPUTED WESTERN ARGUMENTS FOR LIMITING THE FIRST PHASE OF REDUCTIONS TO US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES, ARGUING THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO THE EASTERN SIDE THAT THE BUNDESWEHR AND BRITISH FORCES ALSO BE INCLUDED. THEY ADDED THAT THE POLES AND EAST GERMANS WOULD ALSO LIKE TO PARTICIPATE IN REDUCTIONS, AND THAT THEREFORE, BOTH FOREIGN AND NATIONAL FORCES SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN ALL REDUCTION PHASES. THE EASTERN REPS ARGUED THAT ANY REDUCTION PLAN WOULD HAVE TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE FACT THAT WESTERN FORCES, PARTICULARLY THE BUNDESWEHR, EMPLOY LARGE NUMBERS OF CIVILIANS FOR SUPPORT PURPOSES WHEREAS EASTERN FORCES EMPLOYED SOLDIERS IN LARGE PART FOR SUCH JOBS. THE EASTERN REPS WERE GENERALLY UNWILLING, HOWEVER, TO DISCUSS DATA, AND SEEMED TO BE SOMEWHAT FUZZY ON JUST HOW A REDUCTION BASE WOULD BE DETERMINED.

6. ASSESSMENT: AS EVIDENCED BY THEIR MORE DIRECT CRITIQUE OF VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE WESTERN POSITION, THE EASTERN REPS RECOGNIZE THAT THE SHAPE OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL IS EMERGING IN THE WESTERN PLENARY PRESENTATIONS, THEY NONETHELESS CAN

BE EXPECTED TO KEEP UP THE PRESSURE FOR THE WEST EITHER TO
TABLE A FORMAL PROPOSAL OR TO ADDRESS THE EASTERN PROPOSAL.
THE EAST MAY LEAK FURTHER DETAILS OF THEIR NOV 8 PROPOSAL IN
ORDER TO INCREASE THE PRESSURE. DESPITE THE SOMEWHAT HARDER
LINE OF THE CZECH PLENARY STATEMENT ON 15 NOVEMBER, THE ATMOS-
PHERE OF THE TALKS REMAINS GOOD, ALTHOUGH FURTHER LEAKING
OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL REQUIRING A WESTERN RESPONSE WOULD
NOT BE HELPFUL.HUMES

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 12 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS, NEGOTIATIONS, COMMITTEE MEETINGS, ARMS CONTROL MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 17 NOV 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: cunninfx
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973VIENNA09523
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731168/abqcelnk.tel
Line Count: 173
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: cunninfx
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 28 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <28-Aug-2001 by smithrj>; APPROVED <17-Sep-2001 by cunninfx>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD ENDING 16 NOVEMBER 1973
TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR
To: STATE
SECDEF INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS
SOFIA POUCH
LISBON POUCH
WARSAW POUCH
PRAGUE POUCH
Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005